

The American Observer

A free, virtuous and enlightened people must know well the great principles and causes on which their happiness depends. — James Monroe

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SEPTEMBER 6, 1937

Wage-and-Hour Bill Raises Controversy

Opposition Comes from Many Liberal as Well as Conservative Groups

TO COME UP NEXT SESSION

President Will Push Plans to Fix Minimum Wages and Maximum Hours for Large Numbers

When Congress adjourned late in August after a session of more than seven months it left one hotly debated and gravely important question hanging in the air. That was the proposal to raise wages and shorten working hours by law. A bill to that effect had been passed by the Senate. It was reported favorably by the Labor Committee of the House of Representatives and was placed on the House calendar. The trouble was that it was not near the top of the calendar. It could not come to a vote for a long time unless the Rules Committee brought out a rule advancing it on the calendar and insuring its consideration before the adjournment for which all the congressmen were clamoring. The Rules Committee, a majority of whom opposed the legislation, refused to act, so the bill was smothered. Congress shortly adjourned, and the bill had not been passed.

But though the proposal failed of enactment it did not die. It is sure to come up again when Congress meets, whether the meeting is the regular session of next January or a special session called for sometime this fall. Meanwhile the issue is before the nation; one of the really big issues of our time.

Low Living Standards

Before we get into the debatable aspects of this question, though, we should have in mind a picture of the situation which the wages-and-hours bill, introduced into the Senate by Senator (now Justice) Black, undertook to correct. The picture is one of human beings, American citizens at that, working for wages so low that they cannot live in comfort or security; heads of families unable to give their children enough food to keep them healthy or to buy them the clothing they need or to rent decent, comfortable houses, or to care for their sick, or to spend anything for recreation or amusement. There are millions of families in such a condition. Everyone agrees to that. The United States Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that a family income of \$1,250 a year in most parts of the country forces the living standard below the point of decency, and half the families of America have incomes below that figure. A third of them receive less than a thousand dollars a year. This is a serious thing in a land whose ideal is comfort and security and opportunity for all.

It is natural, then, that all patriotic Americans should be very anxious to raise the living standards of the poorer classes. But how is that to be done? Here is where opinions of honest and patriotic people differ. Here is where controversy arises. The Black-Connelly Labor Standards Bill undertook to reach the goal in one way, and many people disagree as to the wisdom of that method.

How did the Black-Connelly bill propose to achieve the desired result? Briefly, in this way: Wages were to be brought by law up to 40 cents an hour, and the

(Concluded on page 8)



WORKINGMAN

(From a photograph by Peter Stockpole in "U. S. Camera—1936." William Morrow.)

First Steps Toward Leadership

Probably visions of leadership dance in the heads of most young men and women. At least there are times when the imaginations of all but the most sluggish are stirred by dreams of achievement. In too many cases the picture of power to come is fleeting. The purpose is feeble and aspiration dissolves into daydreams, diverting but futile. The fading of youthful hopes is not necessarily the product, however, of innate irresolution. As often as not it is a result of nothing worse than inexperience and the absence of a guiding hand. The youth wants to do something worthwhile; something big and heroic. But he assumes that the period of achievement will lie in the future and he doesn't know how to prepare for it. He doesn't know what the first steps are; what he should be doing at the moment, the next day, or the next week. So he gratifies his ambition with daydreams of a future wholly dissociated from present acts and habits, and the consequence is that he does not go in the direction of his goal.

The way to prepare for leadership after a while is to practice it now. If you would be a leader of thought and action in your community or your country in years to come, begin to exercise influence in the thinking of your associates today. The first step toward leadership is a present act of leadership. Get into the habit of reading about the problems of the present day. See that you know a great deal about certain of those problems. Talk about them. Influence the opinions of others. Continue those habits of reading, thinking, and discussing through your school days and it is practically certain you will not throw them aside when you graduate. And if you do not, your transition from a leader in school to a leader in your community will be a gradual but certain process, and even wider fields will lie before you as your sphere of activity is enlarged.

As a means of encouraging habits of reading and of organized conversation on the great problems of the day, the formation of student clubs for discussion of current issues is to be recommended. There is, of course, study and discussion in social studies classes, but the organization of a permanent group in the school would furnish a forum for the use of students whether they are enrolled in history and civics courses or not. It would be well if students who are ambitious, who are interested in the outside world and who want to be leaders, should organize themselves into a club, meet once a week or so to debate questions of common interest. They need not confine themselves to debate. Music, entertainment, and the development of pleasant social relationships should be included in the programs, but the discussion of national and world issues should be emphasized. Such clubs are operating successfully in hundreds of schools. They offer a splendid opportunity for training in civic competence and in individual development of personality and power.

Japan Struggles To Rule Over Far East

Purpose of Present Campaign Is to Gain Complete Control of North China

EXTENDED WARFARE FEARED

Chinese Resistance and Possibility of Foreign Complications Make Situation Critical

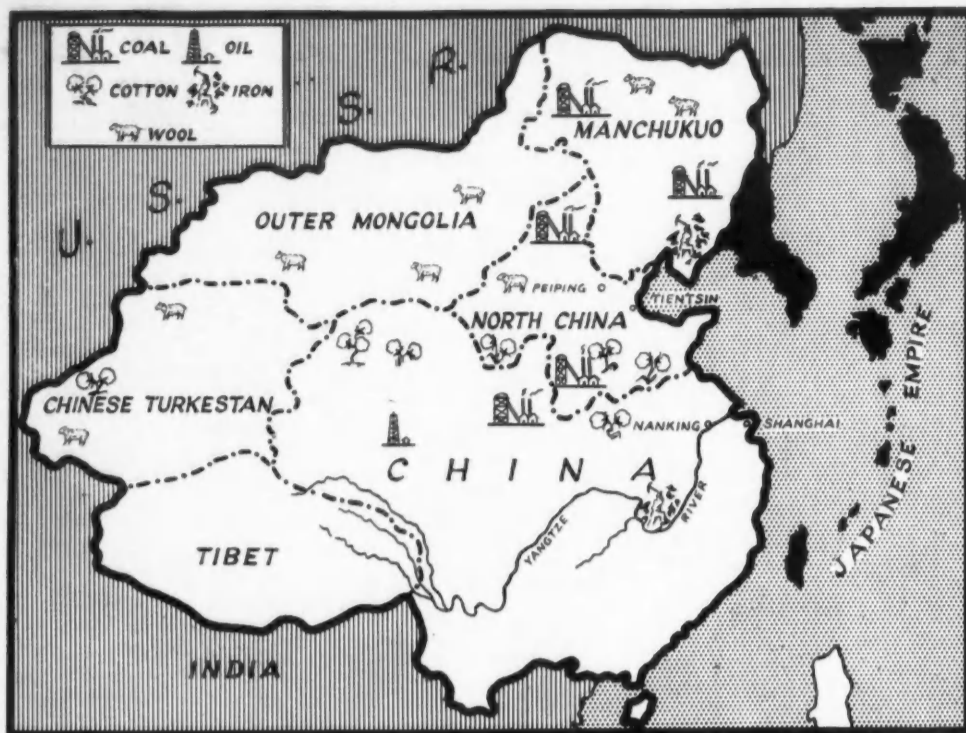
For two months, the Far East has again been the theatre of a fierce war between China and Japan. Like a small flame which spreads into an uncontrollable conflagration, the spark which was set off early in July has swept to practically every corner of China. From North China, the hostilities soon spread to Shanghai. Bombs were soon splattered over Nanking, the capital city. As the full weight of Japan's air, land, and sea forces was brought into play in an attempt to crush China, hostilities extended even into the southern provinces. A naval blockade, stretching some 800 miles along the Chinese coast, was imposed by the Japanese.

In the wake of the wholesale loss of life from bombings and direct warfare have come all the horrors of fire and pestilence. Millions of Chinese have been left homeless and destitute; countless others have fallen prey to the ravages of disease. The gods of war are wreaking their vengeance in as merciless and barbaric a struggle as is possible to conceive. The two great Oriental powers are locked in the grips of a conflict unto death, the outcome of which no one can foresee or predict. Although neither nation has officially declared war upon the other, China and Japan are actually at war in everything but name.

A Link in a Chain

The latest developments in the Sino-Japanese conflict constitute but one link in a long chain of events which began several years ago. Step by step, the Japanese have increased their influence, economic and political, over China. Whole sections of Chinese territory have been wrested from the Chinese and added to the Japanese empire. In 1931, it was Manchuria, with its 34,000,000 inhabitants. In 1933, it was the Chinese province of Jehol. Two years later, a Japanese military expedition undertook to bring the five provinces of North China under the direct control of Tokyo. Although that campaign was only partially successful, Japan did make sufficient gains to make further conflicts inevitable, and she is now trying to complete that unfinished chapter.

The previous clashes between the two powers have been mere skirmishes compared with the present hostilities. Whereas in the past Japan encountered a weak and disunited China, unable to offer effective resistance, she is now meeting a more determined, more united nation, which has been preparing to meet further encroachments with force. China is more united than at any time since the establishment of the republic in 1912; she has added to her military equipment; she has been drilling her men in the art of modern warfare. Many of her provincial war lords, always jealous of one another and never dependably loyal to the Nanking government, have sworn allegiance to Chiang Kai-shek and have pledged their armies to form a gigantic battalion against the foreign foe. The long-standing feud between the government and the Chinese Communists has



CHINA AND SOME OF HER PRINCIPAL RESOURCES

DRAWN BY JOHNSON

largely abated, and the former foes are now acting together in the greater cause of national unity and self-defense.

But the Japanese have entered the fray with all the fervor of a holy crusade. All the instruments of propaganda have been tuned to whip up patriotic enthusiasm for the war. Apparently the military rulers of Japan have decided to bring China to the ground, once and for all. They seem determined not only to settle the issue over North China but to break Chiang Kai-shek's government, whose policies have become more and more anti-Japanese, and to substitute one more sympathetic to their point of view. Thus, they have extended their field of activities to include practically the entire nation.

Death Blow Planned

From the Japanese point of view, the death blow must be dealt to China now or never. She must be crushed before she becomes invincible. Delay might be disastrous to Japan, for it might mean opposition from Soviet Russia, now weakened by internal dissension. It might mean complications from the western nations, now absorbed by the Spanish civil war. The Japanese know that they must strike while the iron is hot, and it was not difficult to create an incident which would set off the spark which has spread to an entire continent.

Whatever Japan may seek to accomplish elsewhere in China, her major objective remains the conquest of the five provinces of North China. Nor is it difficult to see why she should look at this territory with covetous eyes. The five provinces are among the richest of all China. They contain many of the raw materials which Japanese industry so sorely needs. Their total area of 351,000 square miles is larger than the state of Texas; larger than Texas and half of California combined. The population is about four-fifths the size of that of the United States. The five provinces of North China—Hopei, Chahar, Shantung, Shansi, and Suiyuan—contain about a fifth of the territory and more than that proportion of the population of all China.

North China

But North China's importance lies not in its size, nor in the fact that it contains such historic cities as Peiping, the former capital. Even the untutored and inexperienced traveler, upon entering the region, would soon discover its potential wealth. Taking the five provinces as a unit, he would find in the eastern part a low level plain, admirably suited to agricultural production. Most of the land may be cultivated the year round, and our visitor would find cotton, millet, maize, and beans in the summer, and such grains as wheat and barley during the winter months.

As the traveler approached the western section, he would get glimpses of oil wells in Shansi, rolling hills containing rich coal deposits. In the provinces of Hopei, Shantung, and Shansi, he would notice a number of modern industries. He would see great reserves of iron ore in Chahar, roving herds of sheep and cattle throughout the northern part. As he neared the port of Tientsin, he would spot the Tangku salt fields and salt refineries. The large seaports, Chingwantao, Tientsin, Lungkow, and Chefoo, would be buzzing with activity. One great important commercial center is Peiping, with a population of over a million, which is in many ways symbolic of the great economic and social changes that characterize the Orient—a strange admixture of two civilizations, the one ancient, the other modern. As Lin Yutang, an outstanding Chinese author, describes it recently in the *New York Times Magazine*:

Modern young misses in high-heeled shoes brush shoulders with Manchu ladies on wooden soles, and Peiping doesn't care. Old painters with white magnificent long beards live across the yard from young college students in their "public hostels," and Peiping doesn't care. Packards and Buicks compete with rickshas and mule carts and caravans, and Peiping doesn't care.

It is when we examine cold statistics that we appreciate the economic importance of North China to Japan's scheme of things. Three of the five provinces produce nearly half of all the cotton produced in China. Sixty per cent of China's deposits

A DANGEROUS GAME
TALBURT IN WASHINGTON NEWS

of iron ore and coal lie in North China. North China accounts for 40 per cent of the total Chinese production of wheat, 38 per cent of the soybean production. Nearly half the railroad mileage of China is located in the northern provinces, and much of the nation's foreign trade—28 per cent of the exports and 16 per cent of the imports—passes through the two ports, Tientsin and Kiaochow.

Japanese Activities

During the last two years, Japan's program of economic penetration of North China has been moving speedily forward. Following the clashes of 1933, she has been laying plans to exploit the natural resources of the region for the benefit of her rapidly growing industries. Technical experts have been sent to survey the future possibilities and companies have been formed to develop the agricultural and mineral resources of the region. Thousands of pounds of American cotton seed have been supplied and a plan has been laid to make Japan independent of cotton from the United States. By means of cut-throat competition, the Japanese have forced many of the textile mills of North China to the wall; in fact, by 1936 the entire textile industry of the region had fallen into Japanese hands. Companies have been organized to speed up the production of iron and coal; to build railroads linking North China more closely to Japan; to engage in commerce of all kinds.

Most of these plans of economic development have thus far remained in the blueprint stage. The reason is twofold. In the first place, anti-Japanese feeling has been so intense as to make the execution of the plans well-nigh impossible. Secondly, many Japanese capitalists have been reluctant to sink funds into industrial ventures in North China so long as its political status was not clearly defined. They were afraid that the region might remain under Chinese control and that their investments would be jeopardized. Without large sums of capital it will be impossible to develop the resources of the region. The government has therefore resolved to remove doubts as to the political status by removing all control from Nanking.

If the economic possibilities of North China loom large in the Japanese calculations, the political advantages are by no means overlooked. Japanese military leaders realize that a future war with Soviet Russia is always a possibility. Russia and China are Japan's great enemies in the Far East and they might well join forces at some future time in an attempt to bring Japan to her knees. If the five provinces of North China are joined to Manchukuo, Japan's military position will be much more invulnerable. A buffer between Russia and China will have been created, enabling Japan better to protect herself.

Will Japan Succeed?

Will Japan succeed in her latest ambitious venture on the Asiatic mainland? Will she be able to sever the five provinces of North China and make them subservient to her economic and political whims? By spreading her attacks to a dozen fronts throughout the Chinese republic, will she be able to bring about the overthrow of Chiang Kai-shek and establish a new Chinese government which is willing to carry out the orders dictated by the Tokyo high command? Is there danger of international complications as the interests of foreign powers in China become seriously trampled upon by the ruthless Japanese war machine?

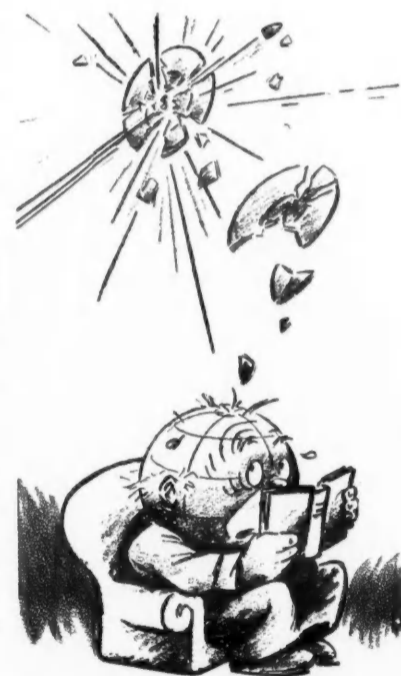
These are all important questions of the

hour. To answer them would be to peer into the future. We can only call attention to some of the more important facts which bear upon the present war. Principal among these is China's position of increased military strength, greater internal unity, and grim determination to halt the Japanese march, whatever the cost. Even if the conflict is kept in bounds and does not involve other nations, the Japanese will have harder sledding than they have had in past tussles with China.

From the military standpoint alone, the Japanese are in an extremely strong position. In other respects, however, they are less fortunate. A prolonged war might have disastrous effects upon Japan as it would subject the nation's finances and economic structure to a severe strain. For six years Japan has been gambling heavily upon her Chinese undertaking. She has spent hundreds of millions of dollars on armaments. She has exacted great sacrifices of the Japanese people. The spending of half the government's budget for military purposes has led to increased taxes, a lower standard of living for the agricultural and industrial masses, widespread social unrest, and tottering finances.

Thus, even if Japan wins the war with China, the results may not be altogether happy. Financial instability and economic collapse may be the aftermath. Already there are indications of weakness in the government's finances as the price of bonds has sagged on the world markets. Account must also be taken of the possibility of international complications, which would upset all the calculations. Foreign powers have protested against the flagrant violation of their rights in China. The future of world peace now hangs delicately in the balance, and no one dares to predict what may be the ultimate consequences of the Sino-Japanese War of 1937.

Further Reading: (a) How Dangerous Is Japan? *Current History*, August 1937, pp. 32-36. (b) Behind Japan's Internal Crisis. *Amerasia*, June 1937, pp. 151-154. (c) China Unconquerable. *Forum*, August 1937, pp. 64-67. (d) Japan Drives On in China. *Events*, September 1937, pp. 177-183. (e) Can Japan Keep Pace? *Living Age*, August 1937, pp. 522-525. (f) "Japan Counts the Cost," by Nathaniel Peffer. *Harpers*, September 1937, pp. 354-362.



The American Observer

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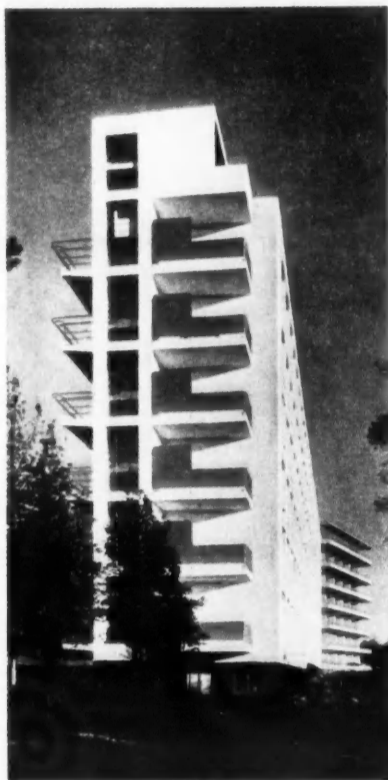
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AROUND THE WORLD



COURTESY ARCHITECTURAL FORUM
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A concrete fortress of health in the heart of the forests, completely equipped to assure the best care.

Europe: Sir Arthur Willert, English author and student of international politics, finds, in traveling about over Europe, a peaceful disposition on the part of the plain people. They want only to go about their private affairs, undisturbed by strife and war. This attitude contrasts with the dangerous belligerency of governments. Writing on "The Distempers of Europe" in the September *Atlantic Monthly*, he says:

The determination of the average man, of the small bourgeois, the peasant, and the farmer, to maintain a life as intact as possible from the problems and pressures of the age is a salient feature of contemporary Europe. Everywhere it contrasts sharply with the immense confusions of politics and economics. We saw the contrast as we motored across France when the franc was sliding and the future of the government was uncertain. It was comforting, after reading in the Paris press of the hopelessness of things national and international, to find the farmer planting new vines for his children's wine. We saw it again in Italy, where the venomous press polemics against England has not contaminated the habitual Italian courtesy toward English people. We shall find it again in Germany unless there has been a great change since last year. The more the traveler sees of Europe, the more he feels that one of the strongest factors for sanity in its affairs is the determination of the literate masses to cling to the right of pursuing happiness for themselves and their families and to the advantages that nineteenth-century liberalism brought them.

* * *

Japan: Another evidence of peace and good will in a quarter where it may not be generally expected is furnished by Marc T. Greene, foreign correspondent for the *Christian Science Monitor* and the Manchester (England) *Guardian*, who has this to say of the Japanese in the September *Current History*:

If you get among the people at all you will encounter a friendly and well-disposed folk, desiring the world's good will. And that is, in the main, the Japanese temperament. . . .

Nine out of every 10 Japanese desire peace, amity with other nations, and an end to the increasingly rigid militaristic regime. Some of that nine tenths, like the large merchant class and the great industrialists whose prosperity depends on foreign trade, even the powerful banking and shipping interests, like Mitsui and Mitsubishi, would have peace because an en-

during peace and that alone can mean prosperity for Japan. But the average Japanese is friendly by temperament, and I challenge anyone who knows Japan to establish the contrary.

The other exceptions to the general tendency toward nonaggression and antimilitarism are various elements of the younger Japanese, a large part of the student class, idle pleasure-seeking sons of the rich, a few of the aristocracy, and the relatively small group of sincere believers in the political principle of authoritarianism.

The "young Japanese group," as it likes to call itself, is the counterpart of the young Fascists and Blackshirts in Italy and the young Nazis in Germany. If you, as a foreign tourist, have any unpleasant experiences in Japan, it is practically certain to be from this group. Indeed, it can hardly be from anybody else. But it is the fashion among Japanese students to sneer at the foreigner and at all things foreign. But never do the Japanese people as a whole the injustice of concluding that it is symbolic of the general attitude to the rest of the world.

* * *

France: In France, as in the United States, proposed legislation dealing with conditions of labor has raised a first-rate issue. And as here there is agitation for a 40-hour week. It has already been established in many industries but has not been applied to all of them. A survey is being made to determine which industries can stand a reduction in hours and what means can be adopted to reduce costs without cutting wages.

Another problem of the French government which is similar to those of our own is the problem of governmental expenses. Georges Bonnet, finance minister in the government of Premier Camille Chautemps, is making an effort to reduce expenses and he has brought about increases of taxes. The government is also proposing to take over the railways and this has brought about opposition from the conservatives.

* * *

Germany: The world is once more looking toward Nuremberg, where Chancellor Hitler is soon to open the annual congress of the Nazi party, for the first time in the presence of diplomatic representatives of Great Britain, France, and the United States. There, column after column of men in uniform will march past the high officials of the party. There will be the Brown Shirts, the Black Shirts, the Hitler Youth, the Junkvolk, and the Federation of German Girls, all party groups designed to hold the interest of party members at every age in life.

The significance of the congress for the outside world will lie in any announcements which Hitler may make in his speeches to the congress. Last year, two important announcements were made, one touching

the economic life of the nation, the other a guide to its foreign policy.

From the beginning, it has been Hitler's aim to make the Reich as independent as possible of the outside world in raw materials. One phase of this was the demand for colonies, another was the Four-Year Plan, announced at Nuremberg, last year, to reduce imports by developing new industries at home. Great progress has been made in synthetic rubber, synthetic gasoline, and artificial textile-fiber manufacture. Only recently Hermann Goering, who directs this plan, announced a new campaign to develop low-grade iron ores found in Germany.

The other important announcement of last year was the campaign against communism. Since then, in the German-Japanese pact against communism, in the intervention in Spain, in the press attacks on Czechoslovakia, Germany has constantly fought communism; just now, the Japanese aggression in China is explained in Germany as a fight to suppress communism. One wonders what this year's developments will be, and Hitler is almost sure to give some hints at Nuremberg.

* * *

Finland: Cooperative societies give the citizens of Finland medical care at a price which can hardly be equaled any place else in the world. Although the societies are private concerns, they are under strict governmental supervision; they are models of cheapness and efficiency. First established in 1897, the cooperatives have been growing rapidly in the last few years. The average monthly payment from each member of a society is less than \$3 per month. This amount varies according to the different societies, of course, and according to the service rendered by each, but usually it includes complete medical care and hospitalization for a specified number of days.

The societies are so organized that persons who cannot afford to be regular members may be treated at very low fees. Citizens of other European nations have been known to go to Finland just to take advantage of the low costs and excellent medical service.

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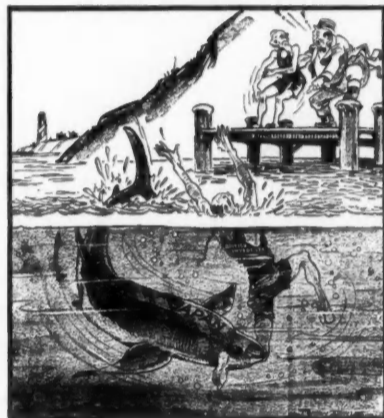
South Africa: The race problem continues to be a serious one. About four-fifths of the population of the Union of South Africa is colored. The natives are employed as unskilled laborers in the towns or else they live on reserves where they maintain some of their tribal organization and are employed chiefly in raising cattle or sheep.

For many years there has been a serious question concerning the political rights

which the Negroes should enjoy. The Dutch Boers have in general been opposed to the granting of rights, while the English have been more favorable. Lately, a nationalist party has become strong and its policy is to deprive the natives of the few rights they now have.

* * *

Spain: Santander, the last stronghold of the Spanish loyalists on the northern coast, fell to the insurgents recently. Since July, General Franco's forces have taken Bilbao, San Sebastian, Irun, and now Santander, to give them virtual control over the northern half of the country. Their latest drive included many mining and industrial villages, whose products Franco can use. The insurgents have not been so successful in other sectors, but generally the fighting has gone in their favor. A loyalist drive from Madrid was checked and a counteroffensive from the insurgents regained the territory, but it



JOHN BULL: " 'ELP! SAVE 'IM! 'E'S WEARIN' MY BATHIN' SUIT!"
DOYLE IN N. Y. POST

was stopped short of the city itself. East of Madrid, the insurgents launched a drive to cut the Madrid-Valencia road, which would seriously handicap the government, but as yet they have not succeeded.

The war, now in its second year, is taking a terrible toll. More than a million lives have been lost since the revolt first started, it is said, and there were days when the government army alone lost 5,000 to 6,000 men.

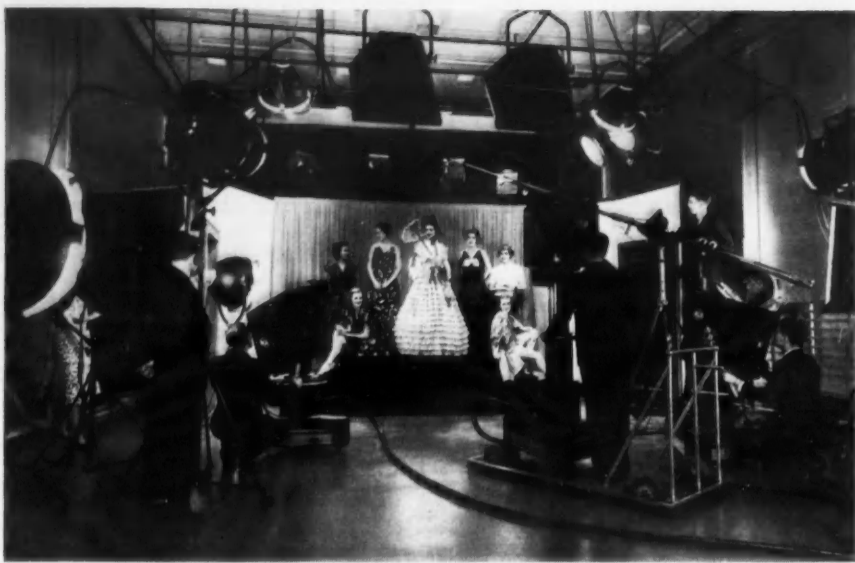
The attempt to enforce nonintervention by other powers in Spanish affairs has ceased, since the German-Italian faction could not come to an agreement with the French, Russian, and English diplomats. The Portuguese and French borders are open, and there is no attempt to control the shipping.



THE FRENCH BASQUE COUNTRY, FAR REMOVED FROM THE POLITICAL CONFLICTS OF PARIS

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TELEVISION PROGRESSES — AN EXPERIMENTAL TELECAST

The National Resources Committee's report on technological trends and new inventions, lists television as one of the most important developments of the near future.

What Congress Did

"A do-nothing Congress." Such was the refrain of editorial comment when the session closed late last month. And it is a fact, of course, that the departing legislators left much undone. An examination of the record, however, shows a very considerable body of legislative achievements. Despite the seemingly wasted hours of wrangling over controversial issues, a number of laws of major importance were passed. Compared with the Congresses of the predepression days, which were frequently satisfied with one or two important measures for a session, the work of the last few months appears quite impressive. Among the important measures enacted were the following:

(a) Relief. After a sharp controversy Congress appropriated a billion and a half dollars for the coming year—a victory for the President. The measure was vigorously opposed on grounds of the need for governmental economy.

(b) The course to be pursued by the United States when other nations are at war was outlined. Briefly, the sale of munitions by Americans to warring nations is prohibited and other goods are to be sold only to belligerent powers who can pay for them and carry them away in their own ships. The significance of this act upon the relations of the United States to the Japanese-Chinese war is now a matter of great concern. If the law is put into effect it will benefit Japan chiefly. The Japanese will, of course, be denied munitions, but they can buy other goods since they have the ships with which to haul them and sea power to protect their commerce, while China has neither.

(c) Coal. The Guffey-Vinson Coal Act sets up a commission which regulates production of bituminous coal and the wages of miners. The principles of the NRA are thus



HARRIS AND EWING

ROUGH WEATHER AHEAD

Senate Majority leader Barkley and Vice-President Garner face a difficult task in promoting harmony within the Democratic party.

put into effect in one of our great industries.

(d) Tenancy. The Farm Tenancy Act attacks one of our major problems. Two out of five farmers in America are tenants and in some parts of the country the proportion is much greater. Many of these tenants are sharecroppers, with a very low standard of living and no hope. The new law provides that the government, acting through the Farmers' Home Corporation, is empowered to lend money to tenant farmers for the purchase of the farms they cultivate. The loans are at three per cent and run for 40 years. Only \$20,000,000 is appropriated for this year. The act calls for \$50,000,000 next year and \$100,000,000 thereafter. This act alone scarcely touches the problem, for it is estimated that not more than 2,000 farmers can be helped to buy farms this year, 5,000 next year and 10,000 the year after. Thus a relatively small number of the 3,000,000 or more tenants will benefit, but the act is important as an experiment to see what can be done in the way of tenant relief.

(e) Housing. The Wagner-Steagall Housing Act provides that the government, acting through a housing authority, may make loans to states, cities, or counties wishing to construct low-cost houses or apartments to rent to families with low incomes. The government does not lend all the money for such enterprises, but the greater part of it. The local governments which construct the houses are to rent them at a low figure and if they lose money on the ventures, the federal government makes up part of the loss through subsidy. The housing authority may borrow \$100,000,000 for the first year and \$200,000,000 during each of the next two years. This money is to be lent to the local governments. If they call for the full amount, it is estimated that enough houses and apartments may be constructed during the next three years to supply 750,000 persons. This will represent an important start toward slum clearance and the provision of decent housing for the masses.

(f) Railroad Retirement. The Railroad Retirement Act sets up a social security system for a million and a half railway workers.

(g) Judicial Reform. Provision is made that cases in the lower courts involving the constitutionality of laws of Congress shall be speeded so as to reach the Supreme Court more quickly. It is also provided that the attorney general shall be notified whenever such a case arises in a lower court so that the government may adequately defend the constitutionality of congressional acts before the cases reach the highest tribunal. Injunctions may not be issued by the lower courts setting aside the operation of laws of Congress on grounds of constitutionality unless such action is taken by a court consisting of three federal judges.

(h) The Sugar Act. This law provides that the secretary of agriculture may determine the amount of sugar needed for consumption in the United States and limit production accordingly and that he may also limit imports from foreign countries and from Puerto Rico and Hawaii. This act was opposed by

The Week in the

What the American People

the President and also the Departments of Agriculture and the Interior, largely because of the probable harmful effect on Puerto Rico and Hawaii.

And Didn't Do

The most important legislation defeated in Congress or left over for a future session was the following: (a) The President's proposal to enlarge the Supreme Court. This was defeated. (b) The proposal for a reorganization of the executive departments of the government, putting all independent commissions such as the Federal Trade Commission, Interstate Commerce Commission, and so on, under regular executive departments and increasing the number of cabinet positions by creating a Department of Social Welfare and a Department of Public Works. This proposal is still being considered by a joint committee of the Senate and House. (c) Wage-and-hour legislation. This is considered elsewhere in this issue of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER. (d) Crop control. Congress did not get around to the enactment of a measure to limit agricultural production in order to prevent surpluses and falling prices. The administration considers this measure urgent and it will be the first matter to be taken up when Congress meets, which will be either in regular session next January or in special session this fall. (e) The establishment of a number of regional power systems, such as the Tennessee Valley Authority.

The Political Scene

The huge, unwieldy Democratic majority in Congress broke up during the last session. The conservatives in the party left the President's



HARRIS AND EWING

MARY DEWSON
Prominent Democrat and economist who has been appointed to the Social Security Board.

leadership, and together with the Republicans, turned the majority against him on several occasions. The Democratic party is split today just as the Republican party was split from the time of Theodore Roosevelt until the party fell from power in the depression days. There is a progressive or liberal wing and a conservative wing. President Roosevelt was confronted by two choices. Either he could give up a large part of his New Deal program or he was bound to come into conflict with a large portion of his party in Congress. He chose the first alternative. He is trying to go on with the New Deal, believing, rightly or wrongly, that though a majority in Congress may not support it, a majority in the country does.

A bitter fight is now on between the two factions for the control of the party. Everyone is looking forward to 1940. The New Dealers are trying to nominate the candidate

that year. It is quite possible, though not certain, that President Roosevelt will continue to lead and he may even seek a third term. The conservative Democrats will certainly oppose either the President or any other pronounced New Dealer.

Hoover Speaks

Former President Hoover discusses the party situation in the September issue of THE



OKAY, TOOTS!

TALBURT IN WASHINGTON NEWS

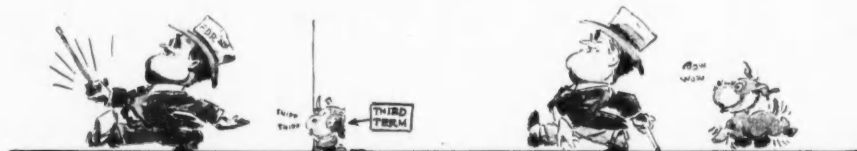
Atlantic Monthly. He thinks that the Republicans should hold a convention in 1938 to formulate their plans and take a fighting position. He believes that the various controls of industry and production and labor and wages which have been inaugurated by the government under the Roosevelt administration threaten the liberty of the American people. He thinks the government is trying to manage too large a part of what individuals have a right to do. He thinks that this should become the paramount issue.

The former President does not think that proposals for a merging of anti-Roosevelt Democrats and Republicans under a new party name is feasible. He argues that the Republicans should go forward as a separate party, relying on the support of all who accept their principles.

Outstanding Screen Play

Film critics are almost unanimous in their praise of the screen biography, "The Life of Emile Zola." It is undoubtedly one of the great screen characterizations of all time. Warner Brothers, in producing this picture, clung tenaciously to historical reality. Nor was it necessary for them to do otherwise, for the most imaginative Hollywood script writer could not conceive a more stirring and explosive plot than is contained in this dramatic incident of the past.

The Dreyfus trial, in which Emile Zola, famous French novelist, was the leading character, not only rocked the whole of France, but it was also the chief topic of conversation in many other nations as well. It all happened, for those who have forgotten, in 1899. Captain Dreyfus, a young army officer, was tricked into being the scapegoat for an army scandal. When Emile Zola became aware of this injustice, he could not remain silent. It was not in his nature to do so. All his life he had done what he could in behalf of the underprivileged. So it was not at all strange that, when the Dreyfus case broke



"HOW THAT PUPPY DOES GROW" (AS A CARTOONIST FOR A REPUBLICAN NEWS)

The United States

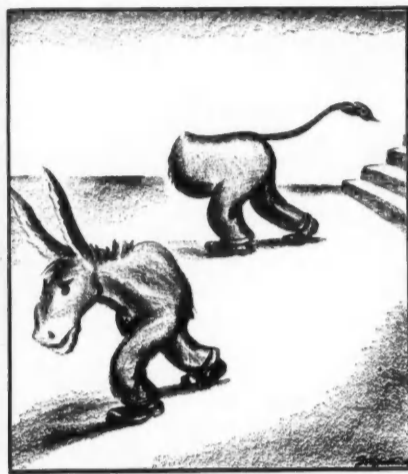
What We Are Doing, Saying, and Thinking

out. Zola, even though he was then enjoying a life of peace and luxury, should come to the defense of a helpless victim of injustice.

Zola wrote an editorial condemning the army officials for their intrigue, for which he was tried. For 30 minutes this trial lasts on the screen, and it is a placid audience, indeed, that is not gripped with emotion by the eloquent appeal made by Zola. Paul Muni, who plays this role, demonstrates again that he is one of the foremost actors of the day. The

has been heard recently is being perfected, so it is said. Former mechanical pickers have been discarded because they picked the green as well as the ripe bolls. A new mechanism, invented by Charles H. White, is supposed to distinguish between the ripe and unripe bolls. The machine is equipped with an "electric eye," or photoelectric cells, which react only when sufficient white cotton is showing from the boll as the machine passes over the plants. When the fully ripe boll comes within range of the cell, the electric eye causes the picking mechanism to react. The picked boll is carried on conveyers to bins at the rear of the harvester. Unripened bolls do not cause the electric eye to respond and thus they are left to a later harvesting.

There has been much speculation about the effect of the mechanical cotton picker on unemployment. There is a widespread belief that if these pickers come into general use, hundreds of thousands of men and women who now pick the cotton will lose their jobs and be utterly helpless. This is not at all certain, however. It appears that as much labor is required to produce the cotton—that is, to prepare the soil, do the planting, the cultivation, and so on—as is required to do the picking. It is possible, therefore, that cotton planters will be obliged to maintain their labor forces intact, even though there is a revolution in cotton picking.



THE PARTY GOES HOME
FITZPATRICK IN ST. LOUIS POST-DISPATCH

supporting cast also gives an inspiring performance. From every standpoint, it is a film that should be put on the movie-goer's "must" list. (An interesting book on the Dreyfus case is reviewed elsewhere on this page.)

Glimpse of the Future

One of the important events of the summer was the publication of the report of a body of scientists employed by the National Resources Committee, a government agency. These scientists described the inventions and industrial developments which the immediate future will probably see. They declared that inventions can generally be forecast about 20 years in advance for it takes that long for an invention to be perfected and accepted in industrial use. Looking forward 20 years or so, they foresee a number of very important changes. Among them are the following: Television will come into general use. The electric eye, a mechanism sensitive to light, will be used widely in industry. A simple illustration of its present use is the automatic opening of a door when one approaches. Prefabricated houses will change the nature of the construction industry. The automobile trailer will furnish a new mode of life for thousands. Letters, newspapers, and other printed matter can be flashed over wires with the speed of electricity. Gasoline produced from coal may increase the supply of fuel. The autogiro will be perfected. Vegetables and fruits may be produced on a large scale without soil by growing them with the proper chemicals in trays. Synthetic rubber may take the place of real rubber and artificial cotton and woolen-like fabrics made from celluloid may revolutionize clothing materials.

The Future Comes

One of these mechanical developments appears to be at the very threshold. The mechanical cotton picker of which so much



ANCIENT AND MODERN TRANSPORTATION MEET IN AREQUIPA, PERU
(From an illustration in "Discovering South America," by Lewis R. Freeman, courtesy Pan American Airways.)

NEW BOOKS

South America

Lewis R. Freeman first visited South America over 30 years ago. In those days Buenos Aires was "barely turning its first million," there were few "North Americans" on the continent, no regular American steamship line to the Plata River, only one down the west coast, and no American banks south of Panama. The United States had not yet discovered South America.

Subsequent trips brought out the increasing commercial influence of the United States on its Latin American neighbors, and his latest visit, made in 1935, made clear the extent to which American enterprise is changing the face of South America. Mr. Freeman traveled by plane from one end of the continent to the other, skimming over tropic coasts, piercing the Andes through the famous Uspallata Pass from Chile to Argentina, and dropping down on towns and cities, to take slower side trips and view the scene at closer range. He notes, among many other things, the effects of American engineering, American automobiles, architecture, and farm machinery. And he sets it all down in a book which he rightly calls, "Discovering South America," (New York: Dodd, Mead, \$3).

Pattern of Life

Harry Patterson starts out to see the world at the age of 15. His education has been scant, indeed, but the boy has an insatiable curiosity. He has a thirst to see new places and to delve into the problems of life. Thus, he packs up his belongings and leaves the Mississippi farm on which he has been living with his grandparents. What becomes of this inexperienced, relatively uneducated, farm boy of the South? Does he make a success of his life? Does he achieve happiness?

The story of Harry's experiences is told by Clyde Brion Davis in "The Anointed" (New York: Farrar and Rinehart, \$2.50). This novel, certainly one of the outstanding ones of the summer, is more than a mere bit of adventure. The author takes a mentally alert young person, traces his thinking processes, and shows how he struggles to work out a pattern of living conducive to happiness. The novel contains a great deal of practical philosophy, is an excellent character study, and moves along at an interesting and absorbing pace.

The Dreyfus Case

After seeing the screen play, "The Life of Emile Zola," which is reviewed in another column on this page, many of our readers may want to know more about the famous French trial on which this film is based. They may want to know more about the man who stood accused by the French military; the man who was defended by several of France's leading citizens—Captain Dreyfus. They may be curious to obtain a better picture of Captain Dreyfus' outstanding defender—Emile

Zola. In short, they will probably desire to learn as much as they can about this trial which has no equal in French history.

The best single source of information on all these points, as well as other vital facts pertaining to the trial and to the characters involved, is "The Dreyfus Case," by Alfred and Pierre Dreyfus (New Haven: Yale University Press, \$3.75). Captain Alfred Dreyfus, before his death in 1935, had prepared a lengthy manuscript on the trial itself, and the later developments. His son, Pierre, emphasizes the events leading up to the trial. Here is an incredible account of how a man was tricked by the most ruthless, merciless tactics. The book appears to be accurate in all detail, stressing facts similar to those which were disclosed during and after the trial.

Safe Driving

How to be a safe driver and why it pays is the theme of "Youth at the Wheel" (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, \$1.75), by John J. Floherty. Although Mr. Floherty wrote his book especially for young drivers, its value has no age limit. If there is anything about safe driving which he misses, the average driver won't notice it. He mentions many insignificant causes of accidents—piling the rear seat full of baggage, wet leaves on the pavement—as well as the more common driving faults, such as one-arm driving and speeding. One of the most valuable sections of the book is an analysis of the automobile itself, in which he tells why a car runs, in language so simple that the reader doesn't need to be a mechanical genius to understand it.

Mr. Floherty summarizes his formula for safe driving in two sentences: the Golden Rule and "Never drive faster than you can see." The pictures and diagrams with which the book is illustrated are excellent; they tell the story even more graphically than do the words. Every driver could learn something from "Youth at the Wheel."

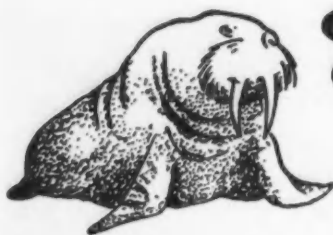


HARRIS AND EWING
FRIEND AND COUNSELOR

to the Republican party is former President Hoover. In an article in The Atlantic Monthly he advocates a vigorous line of policy for the future.



FROM A CARTOON BY DARLING IN N. Y. HERALD-TRIBUNE
(NEWSPAPER VIEWS THE TALK OF A THIRD TERM FOR PRESIDENT ROOSEVELT)



The Walrus

"The time has come, the walrus said, to talk of many things: of shoes—and ships—and sealing wax—of cabbages—and kings."

I CANNOT remember a time when there has been as much interest in party politics about Washington, in an off year politically, as there is now—interest and uncertainty. No one presumes to know what will happen; not even the most seasoned Washington correspondents. All sorts of rumors are afloat. An ordinarily well-informed political writer declared unequivocally in private conversation the other day that President Roosevelt had been in conference with certain liberal leaders, considering the possibility of starting a new party, with himself as third-term candidate, if he failed to control the Democratic convention in 1940. The President was said to think that he might lose control of his party, but could still hold a majority of the people. Others discount such speculation. Everyone is trying to figure out how popular the President is with the voters. The future of the Republican party is also in doubt, with the closest political observers completely in the dark about prospects.

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THE question of the future of the Republican party was asked Senator Vandenberg of Michigan one day near the end of the session of Congress. Whose opinion could it be more interesting to obtain? For Vandenberg is spoken of more frequently than anyone else as the most probable Republican presidential nominee in 1940. The senator sat tilted back in his easy chair



ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG

behind his desk and, comfortable in shirt sleeves, talked for perhaps an hour about conditions political and economic. He would not make a definite prophecy about the future, for 1940, he said, was a long way off and much could happen. He did hazard the suggestion, however, that by 1940 we might see political arrangements far different from those to which we are accustomed. I take this to mean, though he made no such outright statement, that he considers a merging of Republicans and anti-New Deal Democrats under a new party name a possibility.

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PAT HURLEY, secretary of war in the Hoover cabinet, is not among those who look upon Senator Vandenberg as the outstanding member of the party. He looks, instead, to Senator Lodge of Massachusetts. In a recent statement he spoke of the possibility that Lodge might become the youngest American president. If this vision is to be realized, little time can be lost, for Theodore Roosevelt was president at the age of 43 and Lodge is now 35.

Whether he ever becomes president or not, the junior Massachusetts senator is an interesting figure in American politics. He is of an old, aristocratic family, grandson of former Senator Henry Cabot Lodge. Despite his aristocratic upbringing, he understands the problems of working people and, in large measure, he has their confidence. It is interesting to note that he was one of two Republicans who supported the minimum wage bill in the Senate, an act for which he was sharply criticized by many Massachusetts businessmen. His progressivism appears, however, to be of a quite moderate variety.

One cannot call at Senator Lodge's office in the Senate Office Building without being impressed by the businesslike atmosphere. He maintains a larger secretarial force than most senators do, and keeps two or three assistants busy studying and analyzing public problems for him. He appears to approach current issues in a spirit of states-

manship rather than of narrow partisanship. He is a young man of poise and friendly appearance. He is a good speaker, not especially vigorous but agreeable, and is decidedly popular in Washington.

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ONE of the big political surprises of the summer was, of course, the appointment of Senator Hugo Black of Alabama to the United States Supreme Court.



HENRY CABOT LODGE, JR.

Some of his close friends had advocated his appointment, but no one really expected it, and his name had not figured in the general discussion of the court vacancy. I am quite sure that Senator Black had not thought of himself as a probable appointee until he was consulted by the President

shortly before his name was sent to the Senate for confirmation. Two or three weeks before the appointment a small party, including the senator, had had Sunday supper together in a little restaurant down on the Potomac waterfront, and talked through the evening of political and economic problems. The vacancy on the Supreme Court was mentioned, and there was speculation concerning the filling of the vacancy. Senator Black was as much interested and as much in doubt as were the others.

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WHEN I was in Montgomery, Alabama, the other day I strolled through the halls of the state capitol, a structure which antedates the Civil War. Evidence to that effect is to be observed in the form of a gold star by one of the great white columns on the portico, marking the spot where Jefferson Davis took the oath of office as president of the Confederacy.

As I viewed the oil paintings of historical state celebrities on the walls, I was impressed by the presence of several who bore the name of "Bibb," a fact the more interesting since both Governor Graves and his wife belong to that family.

On the governor's desk is a name plate with the inscription, "Honorable Bibb Graves—The People's Governor." Adorning the desk is a picture of Mrs. Graves, elevated to the United States Senate by act of her husband in appointing her to the vacancy made by Black's resignation.

I heard little criticism of this act of nepotism in Alabama. The general impression seemed to be that the new senator was qualified for the position, and, anyway, she is to occupy the seat but temporarily.

—The Walrus



MR. JUSTICE BLACK AND HIS SON



(From a study by Edward Millman for a mural in the lobby of the Moline, Illinois, Post Office. Courtesy Art in Federal Buildings.)

Historical Backgrounds

By David S. Muzzey and Paul D. Miller

Wages and Hours in U. S. History

DURING the course of this school year, we shall use this page of THE AMERICAN OBSERVER to give historical background material on the outstanding public problems and issues which arise. Instead of attempting to follow the course of American history chronologically, as we have done in the past, we shall take the big issues of the present, as they develop from week to week. In that way, the student of contemporary problems will see the present in its true setting and perspective.

This week we may appropriately study the wages-and-hours bill, discussed elsewhere in THE AMERICAN OBSERVER, in the light of historical attempts to better the condition of the worker. The law now being advocated is something new in American history in that it represents a direct attempt by the federal government to raise wage standards by legal enactment. It is appropriate, as we study this present question, to inquire how much living standards have been raised during the last century or so and how the improvements have been brought about.

Early Conditions

As we look back over the past, several facts stand out clearly. First, living conditions for the American worker have greatly improved. Early in our history wages were deplorably low. The picture which John Bach McMaster paints of working conditions of the working class in the year 1825 is far from pleasant. In his "History of the People of the United States" he gives us a glimpse of the conditions:

An unskilled laborer, a hod-carrier, a wood-sawyer, a wood-piler in a city was fortunate if he received 75 cents for 12 hours of work and found employment for 300 days in a year. Hundreds were glad to work for 37 and even 25 cents a day in winter who in spring and summer could earn 62½ or perhaps 87½ cents by toiling 14 hours. On the canals and turnpikes \$15 a month in summer and one third that sum in winter were considered good pay. In truth, it was not uncommon during the winter for men to work for their board. Nothing but perfect health, steady work, sobriety, the strictest economy, and the help of his wife could enable a married man to live on such wages.

While workers made certain gains, in the matter of wages and hours, during the second half of the last century, their greatest victories came during and following the World War. Between 1900 and 1925, for example, the average income of the American worker is estimated to have risen 25 per cent. At the same time, his hours of work were greatly shortened. Following the war, the eight-hour day was the relatively normal, rather than the exceptional, order of things, whereas a few years earlier an average was 10 hours. And since the

depression, there has been still a further reduction in working hours.

Compared with such working conditions as those described by McMaster, the life of the worker of today seems utopian, and yet the worker in this country has a long way to go before he reaches comfort and security. Probably something like a third of the workers receive less than enough to furnish their families sufficient food or a fair quality of clothing or comfortable



DAVID S. MUZZEY

housing. We may say, then, that during the century and a half of American history the worker's lot has greatly improved but that he is still uncomfortable and insecure.

Causes

Now, as to the means by which he has achieved this substantial but not wholly satisfactory improvement, we may say: (a) It has not come through the voluntary choice of employers. Practically every time that an increase of wages or a shortening of hours has been discussed during our history, the employers have almost unitedly declared that they would be ruined by the change and that business would suffer. (b) The improvements have not come as a result of direct legislation by the government, though there has been a great deal of legislation designed to help the workers, and much of it has been helpful. The government has legislated to make labor unions possible and it has shortened the hours of employees of the government and has kept the wages of government workers relatively high. (c) Improvements in working conditions have come only in relatively small part from the direct efforts of labor unions. Labor unions have been able to improve the lot of a small number of skilled workers. They have not yet done much for the wages of the great mass of workers. Whether the mass of workers can raise their wages through union activities if they organize on a large scale remains to be proved. It is not proved by history. (d) Improvements have come in general in this way: In times of prosperity, the demand for workers has been heavy. Workers have been relatively scarce and employers have bid against one another for help. This has raised wages and has tended to shorten hours. When times have become less prosperous, the wage-and-hour rates have tended to hold steady. By such means labor has acquired part of the benefit as the country has become more productive and wealthier.

How the News Is Made and Gathered in the Nation's Capital

MOST local newspapers throughout the country are served with their information on national affairs by one or more of three large news-gathering agencies—the Associated Press, the United Press, or the International News Service. The local papers rely upon these agencies to furnish them all their news except that which is local in character. Some of the larger papers of the country, however, do not depend entirely upon the AP, UP, or INS for their articles. They are financially able, whereas the smaller papers are not, to keep correspondents stationed in Washington to "cover" what is going on in the government. These jobs are the envy of all reporters.

The routine of a Washington correspondent, however, is far from being a bed of roses. Most of the time it is extremely nerve-racking. The attempt to get "scoops" and to keep the home paper informed on the up-to-the-minute developments compels the correspondent to be constantly "on his toes."

Most of the correspondents arrive at their offices in the morning between nine and 10 o'clock. First, they usually devote some time to reading Eastern newspapers. The favorite papers of these reporters are the *New York Times*, owing to its complete coverage of all the news of the world, the *Baltimore Sun*, and the *New York Herald-Tribune*. Having read these, or other papers, the correspondent awaits the arrival of his own paper, hoping that a news editor back home has given his story a good place.

Press Conferences

The correspondent then may attend a press conference of some cabinet member. Such conferences are scheduled for each day of the week. There are three government officials, two of them cabinet officers, who are considered to be great news sources and consequently draw the largest attendance. Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes is one of the favorites because of his far-flung public works program. There is not a state in the country that does not boast a PWA project; and as every good reporter knows, news dealing directly with

the home folks is more popular than anything he may write about some abstract national problem.

Harry Hopkins, WPA administrator, attracts a large corps of newspapermen for the same reason. Thousands of persons back home are on the relief rolls. The people of every city, county, or state are thus interested in news about these governmental activities.

Next in the list of officials attracting the press corps must be listed Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace. Housewives are interested more today than at any time before in the price of farm products. Mr. Wallace talks freely with reporters, as do Ickes and Hopkins, and he always paints an interesting picture of what is happening in the farm areas and how this may affect the cost of living. Therefore Mr. Wallace's utterances are often worth a story.

When Congress is in session, most reporters assigned to the capital city concentrate their efforts on that body during the afternoons. They try to become well acquainted with their senators and congressmen and to cultivate friendships with them. This is of mutual advantage to both parties, because the newspapermen are often able to give the congressmen favorable publicity and the congressmen, in turn, frequently give inside information to the correspondents.

One of the most interesting routine tasks of a correspondent is to attend the press



HARRY HOPKINS, WPA ADMINISTRATOR, IS ONE OF THE BEST GOVERNMENT NEWS SOURCES

conference held by the President twice a week. These meetings are attended largely to acquire background material. The President seldom gives out a really important piece of news at his conference with the press. But he frequently does say things, "off the record," giving reporters a clue to a story. The reporters then develop that story through their contacts in the various departments of the government. The President also explains his position on many issues, which is helpful to the correspondent. But as a rule, any big news which the President may wish to present to the country is given out in the form of a "White House Announcement."



SECRETARY OF AGRICULTURE WALLACE PROVIDES FREQUENT INFORMATION OF INTEREST TO FARMERS

Something to Think About

1. In a long article written for *Harper's* before the war in China started, Nathaniel Peffer said that Japan could neither retreat from the position she had taken in China, nor stand still, without serious consequences, and that she could not go forward without bringing on war with China. Explain.
2. "Japanese aggression in China proves that the Japanese people are warlike and barbarous." Is that statement true?
3. What do you think the attitude of the people of the United States should be toward Japanese aggression?
4. "No one can be satisfied with the achievements of American democracy so long as so many Americans are unable to live decently or comfortably." Is that statement true?
5. What are the strongest arguments for and against the wage-and-hour bill?

6. What means other than the ones proposed in this bill can you suggest for raising the living conditions of the poorer classes?
7. What seems to you to be the most important measure passed during the last session of Congress? Why?
8. Why is it important that we know as far as possible in advance of the inventions or industrial developments which are coming? What are some of the most important which seem to be indicated?
9. Account for the fact that President Roosevelt deliberately takes a course which causes him to lose the support of the conservative members of his party.
10. What would be the advantages and disadvantages of forming a new party composed of Republicans and anti-New Deal Democrats?



THE PRESIDENT'S PRESS CONFERENCE IS ALWAYS WELL ATTENDED BY WASHINGTON NEWSPAPER CORRESPONDENTS

Should the States Adopt the Unicameral Legislative System? — Debate Material

THROUGHOUT the nation the unicameral versus the bicameral legislative system will be debated this year. The National University Extension Association has chosen the subject, "Resolved, That the several states should adopt a unicameral system of legislation," for the year 1937-38. The question of the one-house versus the two-house legislature will be debated by high schools in many states.

Probably the greater part of the recent discussion of this subject has been on the affirmative side, as enthusiastic advocates of the one-house legislature have set forth their arguments, while those in opposition for the most part have taken a passive attitude. A number of excellent sources of information are, however, available, and the following are particularly recommended:

The Congressional Digest, September 1937, will be a special debate number devoted to the question "Should the states adopt the unicameral system of legislation." The contents will include historical backgrounds, foreign experiences, a report on the Nebraska system, a review of the states considering a change to unicameral legislatures, and a pro-and-con discussion of the subject. Single copies 50c. *Congressional Digest*, 2131 Leroy Place, Washington, D. C.

Information concerning the Nebraska plan may be obtained from Edna D. Bullock, Nebraska Legislative Reference Bureau, University of Nebraska, Lincoln, Nebraska.

The H. W. Wilson Company, 950-972 University Avenue, New York City, has the following material: "Unicameral Legislatures" by H. B. Summers. (Reference Shelf, Volume 11, No. 1) published November 1936. Reprints of articles, with selected bibliography and summaries of the arguments. 90c for single copy; 5 or more in one order for one school 60c each; 10 or more, 50c each. "Debate Index Supplement." (Reference Shelf, Volume 10, No. 4.) It contains, among other features, a bibliography on unicameral legislatures; 90c for single copy. Quantity rates as quoted above. About October 15 the H. W. Wilson Company will have a supplementary volume by H. B. Summers. It, too, is entitled "Unicameral Legislatures." (Reference Shelf, Volume 11, No. 5.) Special features will be a review of the first year of the Nebraska legislature, a bibliography of new material supplementing the earlier volume, questions and answers; same prices as the other Summers book. During the fall the H. W. Wilson Company will publish "University Debaters' Annual" 1936-37, containing 11 intercollegiate debates, one of them on Unicameral Legislatures; price \$2.25. The University of Oklahoma publishes "Unicameral Legislatures, Arguments For and Against."

Among the bulletins and pamphlets which may be recommended are the following:

Norris, George W. "The One-House Legislature," in *You and Your Government Series X*, Lecture No. 1. New York: The National Municipal League, 309 E. 34th Street. (Same article appears in the *National Municipal Review* for February 1935, p. 87.

"Expediting Legislative Procedure," in *Research Report of the Kansas Legislative Council*, Topeka, 1935.

"Single House Legislatures." Chicago: American Legislators' Association, Drexel Avenue and 58th Street. 1935.

McHenry, Dean E. "Single-House Legislatures." *Legislative Problems*, No. 15. Berkeley, California: Bureau of Public Administration,

University of California. December 15, 1934.

Senning, John P. "The One-House Legislature," in *Nebraska Law Bulletin*, February 1934. Lincoln: University of Nebraska.

Buck, A. E. "Modernizing Our State Legislatures." Pamphlet Series No. 4. Philadelphia: The American Academy of Political and Social Science.

"Legislative Systems." Bulletin No. 1, January 1914. Topeka: Kansas State Printing Office.

The following magazine articles should be valuable:

Norris, George W. "One-House Legislature," in *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, Volume 181 (September 1935), pp. 50-58.

Burdette, F. L. "Nebraska, a Business Corporation," in *American Mercury*, Volume 34 (March 1935), pp. 360-364.

Norris, George W. "One-House Legislature," in *National Municipal Review*, Volume 24 (February 1935), pp. 87-89.

Clark, Arch B. "Our Legislative Mills: The Single-Chamber Legislature of Manitoba," in *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 13 (April 1924), pp. 225-233.

Wrong, George M. "Our Legislative Mills; a Contrast: The Single House Legislature of Ontario," in *National Municipal Review*, Vol. 13 (March 1924), pp. 169-173.

Senning, John P. "Nebraska Provides for a One-House Legislature," in *American Political Science Review* (August 1923), p. 576.

Your Vocabulary

"The difference between the right word and the almost right word," said Mark Twain, "is the difference between lightning and the lightning bug." One can get along with a small vocabulary if he is content to live on a monotonous intellectual plane and be wholly undistinguished in his speech. But precision of expression requires that one command a wide selection of words.

The best way to build a vocabulary is for one to keep on the lookout as he reads, making note of every word the meaning of which is not clear.

How about these words, found in a single issue of a daily newspaper, the *New York Times*: primeval, poignancy, infectious, strategist, anthology, concordat, nullify, paternalism, sanction, and panacea?

Next week we will print a list from another newspaper. It would not be a bad idea, by the way, for each reader to take his favorite newspaper or magazine and make a list for himself of words in general use, but not in his own vocabulary.

PRONUNCIATIONS: Jehol (reh'ho'), Chiang Kai-shek (jee-ong' ky' shek'), Hopei (ho'peh'), Chahar (chah'hahr'), Shantung (shan'doong'), Shansi (shan'see'), Suiyuan (soi'ywahn'), Peiping (bay'ping'), Tientsin (tin'tsin'), Tangu (tang'koo'), Chingwantao (ching'wahn-doo'), Lungkow (loong'ko'), Chefoo (chee'foo'), Kiaochow (jyoo'jo'), Mitsui (mit-soo'ee), Mitsubishi (mit-soo-bec'shee'), Bonnet (bo-nay'), Santander (sahn-tahn-dair'), Bilbao (bil-bah'o'), San Sebastian (sahn'say-bahs-tyahn'), Irun (ce-room'), Nuremberg (noo'rem-bairg'), Goering (gu'ring—u as in burn), Camille Chautemps (ka-mel' sho-tahn'), Junkvolk (yoonk'folk).



EWING GALLOWAY

MANY WORKERS IN THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY ARE IN THE LOW WAGE GROUP AND WOULD BE AFFECTED BY MINIMUM WAGE LEGISLATION

The Dispute Over Wages and Hours

(Concluded from page 1)

weekly hours of labor were to be brought down to 40 a week. Such was the general plan of the bill, but there were many qualifications. In the first place, the law was not to apply to all industries. People working on farms were not to be affected. This eliminated 11 million persons. Neither were workers in domestic service or retail or other purely local industries affected, nor were public employees or workers in construction, transport, or mining industries, or workers in several other lines of employment, such, especially, as seasonal occupations like fishing, canning, and so on.

Proposed Legislative Relief

Who, then, might be affected by such legislation? About six million persons working for less than 40 cents an hour or more than 40 hours a week in industries not exempted in the act. There workers are found chiefly in 10 big industries; saw mills, cotton goods, silk and rayon, corsets, men's furnishings, shirts and collars, confectionary, cigars and cigarettes, cottonseed and fertilizers. More of them in proportion to population are found in the South than elsewhere.

The bill did not prohibit outright the payment of wages below 40 cents an hour in these industries or hours above 40 a week. Instead, it created a Labor Standards Board which was empowered to raise wages up to that figure or to bring hours down to that figure if it saw fit to do so. The idea was that even though wages were below 40 cents an hour in some industry, the board might allow them to continue at the lower figure if it felt that the industry would really suffer through a raising of wages or if in some particular region the cost of living was relatively low, so that workers could live better there than elsewhere on a wage below the 40-cent figure. The condition of the industry, the costs of living, and all sorts of competitive conditions were to be taken into account by the board. It simply had authority to raise wages up to 40 cents or to cut hours down to 40 a week when it thought that such a thing could be done without injury to industries or regions.

Such, in general outline, is the nature of the legislation which was proposed in the recent session of Congress for raising the living standards of several million families. And such is the legislation which will be brought forward at the next session of Congress. Shall legislation of that kind be adopted? That issue is now squarely before the country. The argument in favor of it is clear enough. It is intended as a step in the direction of de-

cent living conditions for all Americans.

Many, however, who sympathize with that objective doubt the wisdom of the method proposed to achieve it. In fact, they opposed it sharply and vigorously. The conflict of opinion turns chiefly on these points:

Pro and Con

(a) Would such legislation tend to hurt certain regions of the country? It is argued, for example, that industry is developing in certain of the southern states and that the industries there are able to thrive because the costs of operation are lower than in the highly industrialized North. If all these industries are forced to raise their wages and lower their hours, it is said that they would lose the advantage which they hold, that many of them would decline or be obliged to go out of business, and that whole communities would suffer. The validity of this argument would seem to depend upon how well the Labor Standards Board does its work. If it used sufficiently good judgment in making allowances for the different competitive conditions exist-

ing in different sections of the country, it could apply the law so as not to do injustice to any region. But whether any board which the government might set up would exercise sufficient judgment and impartiality to prevent abuses is the real crux of the issue.

(b) The advocates of the wage-and-hour legislation say that the shortening of the working hours would lead to increased employment. If the laborers at work are employed for shorter periods the work can be distributed among more people. Opponents declare, on the other hand, that many employers, if forced to pay higher wages and to reduce hours, thus increasing the cost of labor, would find it cheaper to install labor-saving machinery and that the total result would be a curtailing of employment.

(c) Opponents of wage-and-hour legislation contend that most employers could not meet the increased costs of higher wages and shorter hours out of their profits. If their labor costs were increased in that way, it is said that they would be obliged either to go out of business, which

would reduce employment, or else to raise their prices, which would tend to increase the cost of living, and increased costs of living, of course, would take buying power away from workers and from all others, would tend to lower standards of living, and, by cutting down purchasing power, to cripple business. The argument on the other side is that this might happen in the case of a few inefficient industries, but that it would not be general. Both sides try to prove their points by referring to effects of increased wages and lowered hours under the NRA.

Fundamental Issue

(d) There is the further question as to whether extension of the government's authority over industry is a good thing. Those who advocate such legislation as the Black-Connery bill insist that it is the duty of government to help the poorer and more helpless classes of the population by preventing starvation wages, sweatshop conditions, and child labor (child labor is prohibited by this bill). Opponents argue that such controls by the government are steps in the direction of a governmentally controlled society in which individual rights and freedom will be sacrificed. The counterreply is, of course, that no right is more sacred than the right to a decent standard of living, which the proposed labor legislation undertakes to guarantee.

A recital of these arguments indicates how fundamental is the issue of wage-and-hour legislation with which American public opinion is grappling.

Further Reading: The arguments for and against the wage-and-hour bill were well threshed out in the Senate debate. The most important speeches on the subject may be found in *The Congressional Record*, July 27-31 inclusive. These copies may be obtained from the Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C., for 50 cents. A strong address favorable to the legislation, by D. R. Richberg, appears in *Vital Speeches*, July 15, 1937, pp. 585-587. A comprehensive study of American income and of means whereby it may be increased is "Income and Economic Progress," by H. G. Moulton, Brookings Institution, Washington. A paper-bound copy may be secured for 50 cents. The method advocated in this book is different from that of the Black-Connery bill, which the economists of the Brookings Institution oppose. Articles approving the legislation are found in *Nation*, June 5, 1937, pp. 635-636 and *New Republic*, August 11, 1937, pp. 3-4. An article in *Current History*, July 1937, pp. 10-12, is critical.

Smiles

An irate enthusiast, who had watched his home team go down in defeat, stopped the umpire as he was leaving the field.

"Where is your dog?" he demanded.

"Dog?" exclaimed the umpire. "I have no dog."

"Well," said the grouchy one, "you're the first blind man I ever saw who didn't have a dog."

—BOY'S LIFE

Customer (referring to a raw steak) I said "well done," waiter, "well done."

Waiter: Thank you, sir. That's the first compliment we've had in a long time, sir.

At a luncheon of newspapermen, the following toast was offered:

"The ladies! Second only to the press in the dissemination of news."

—CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

A beggar approached a film producer, told a sad tale, and then asked for a quarter.

"Work out a happy ending," said the producer, "and then see me again."

—CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

The young attorney was sent out of town

to interview an important client in regard to a case.

Later the head of his firm received the following telegram: "Have forgotten name of client. Please wire at once."

This was the reply: "Client's name Whitehead. Your name Burkey."

—MONTREAL STAR

The teacher turned on little Freddie. "Young man," she said, "I will have to keep you in after class again!"

"Okay!" replied the eight-year-old. "But I'll have you know that half the town says we're going steady!"

—SPEED

A farmer once asked the editor of a country paper for some advice. He wrote as follows:

"I have a horse that at times appears normal, but at other times is lame to an alarming degree. What shall I do?"

The editor replied: "The next time that your horse appears normal, sell him."

—AMERICAN BOY

Then there was the milliner who couldn't make up her mind and found she had produced a bit.

—LOS ANGELES TIMES



"I WAS FLEEING FROM SATAN!"

LARIAR IN COLLIER'S